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173 [619] 539

This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanidja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanidja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [47b]

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Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[47b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[46] Another informant said that Coosa was called Taloksû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[46] See p. 53.

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The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

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The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[42b] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

[42b] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti ilaakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alsosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII
Natchez NO8

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In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.* There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (talwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossu, Nouv. Voyage, p. 50. [63] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, p. 288.
[64] Barton, New Views, p. xiv.

*[See pp. 79-95, category 116.--Analyst]

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan Ìallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

THE TOWN

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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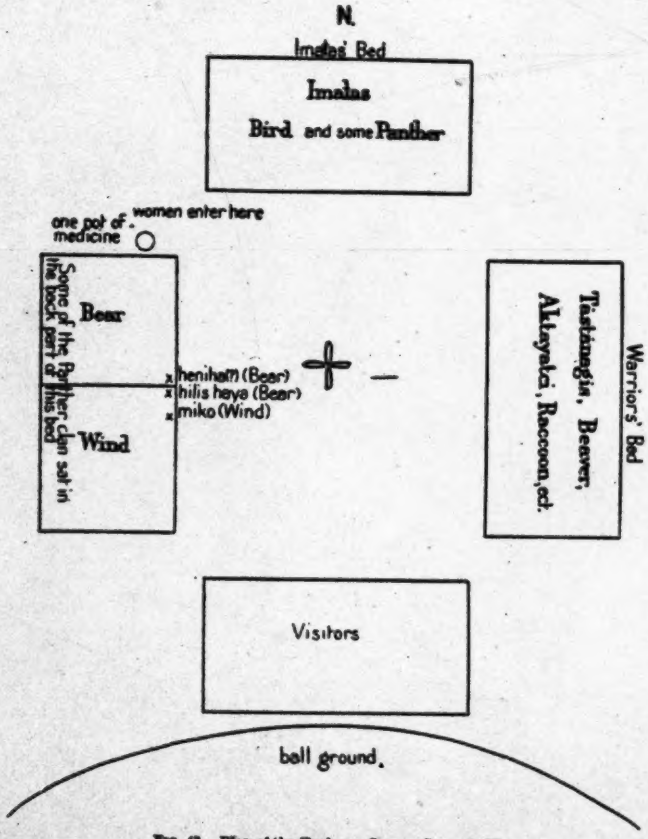

FIG. 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

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Muskogee

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with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

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Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

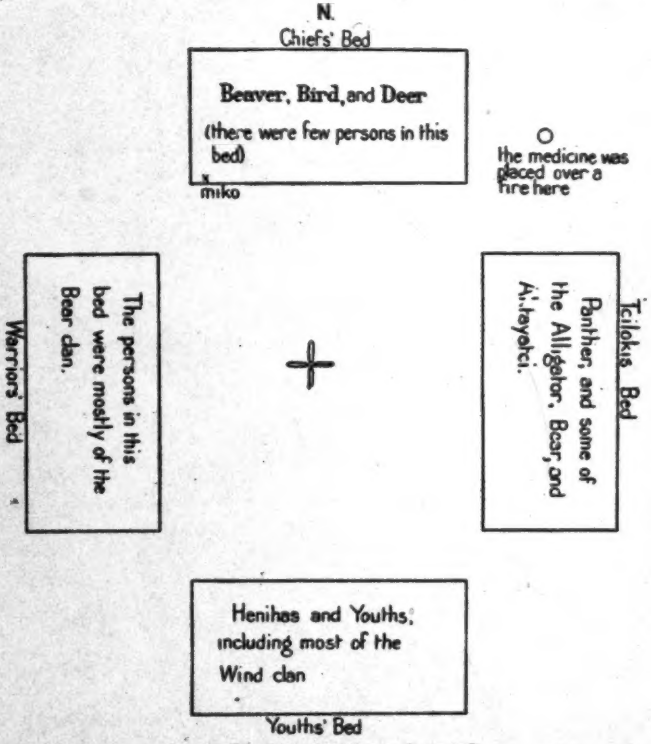
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
miko
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Ai'tsyetci.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

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Muskogee

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one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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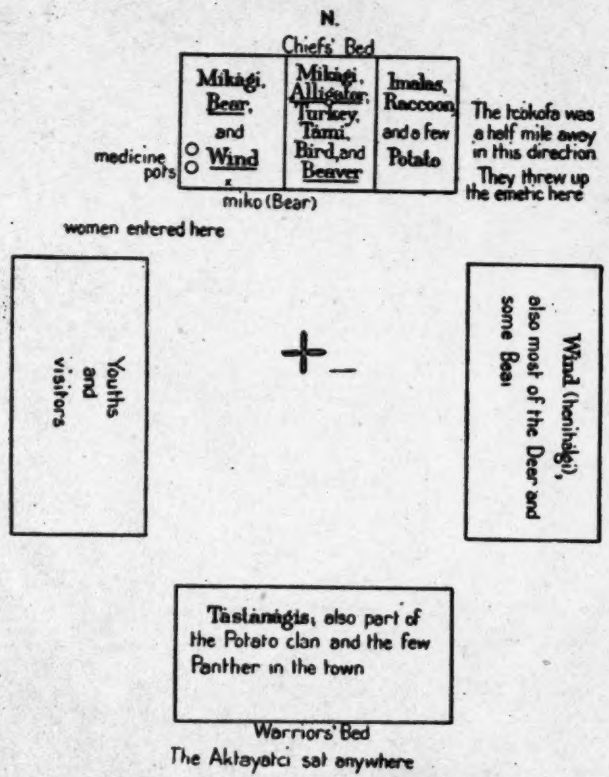
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Mikăgi, Bear, and Wind
Mikăgi, Alligator, Turkey, Tami Bird, and Beaver
Imalas, Raccoon, and a few Potato
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
The Icokofa was a half mile away in this direction
They threw up the emetic here
women entered here
Youths and visitors
Wind (henihăgi), also most of the Deer and some Bear
Tăstanăgis, also part of the Potato clan and the few Panther in the town
Warriors' Bed
The Aktayatci sat anywhere

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

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Jackson Lewis used the name Tălwa mikăgi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

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Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

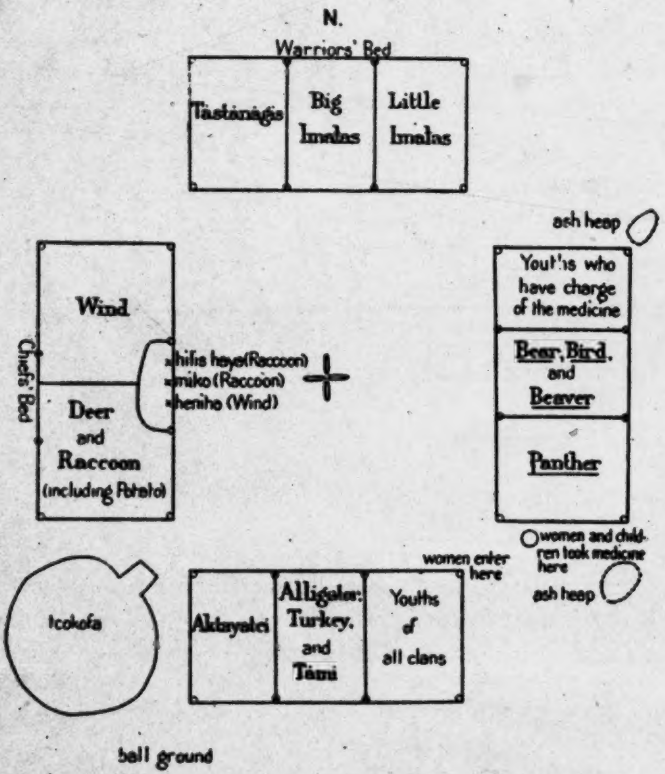

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Kasi'di Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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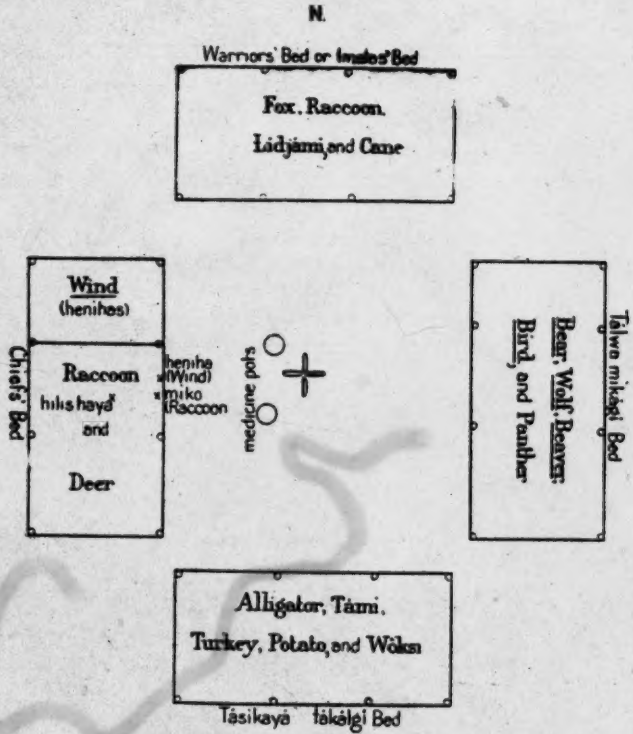

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

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Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bartram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 367.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

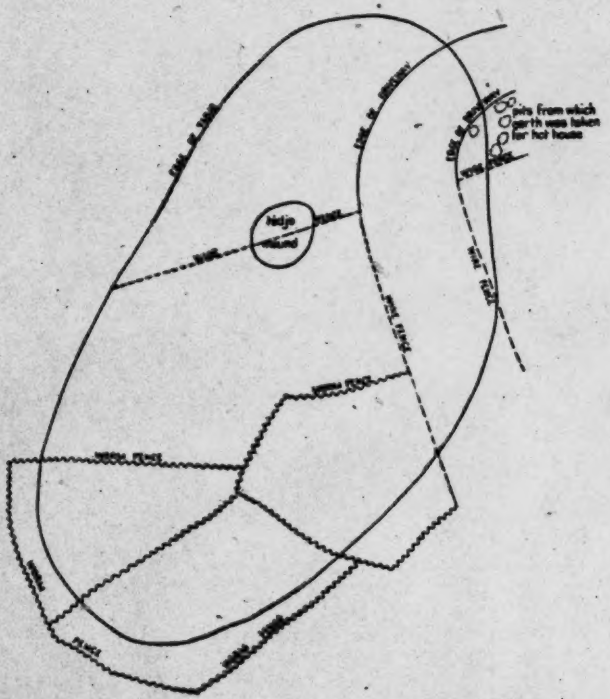

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."[18b]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 397–398. [18b] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
Muskogee

The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

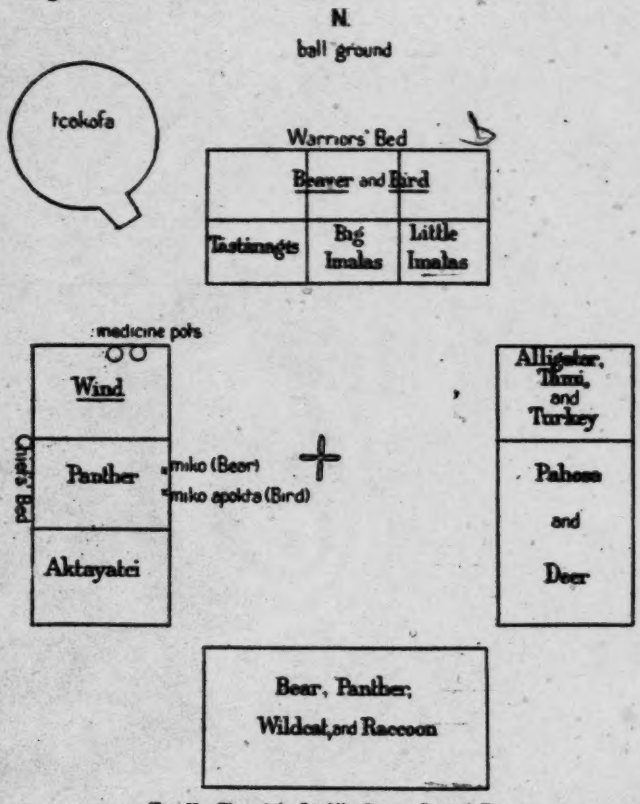

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapĭko Square Ground (1).

Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.	Tulsa Canadian.	Wiogufki.
Apalachicola.	Lutcapoga.	Tukpafka.
Hitchiti.	Okfuskee.	Wiwohka.
Sawokli.	Tcatoksofka.	Pakan tallahassee.
Okmulgee.	Abihkutci.	Okchai.
Kawaigi.	Nuyaka.	Łalogalga.
Okfiyagana.	Abihka.	Asilanabi.
Yuchi.[29]	Abihka-in-the-West.	Koasati (1 and 2).
Coosa.	Talladega.	Tuskegee.
Otciapofa.	Kan-tcati.	
Tulsa Little River.	Wakokai.	

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Laplâko.
Ilkatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[a]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcaba.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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N.
ball ground

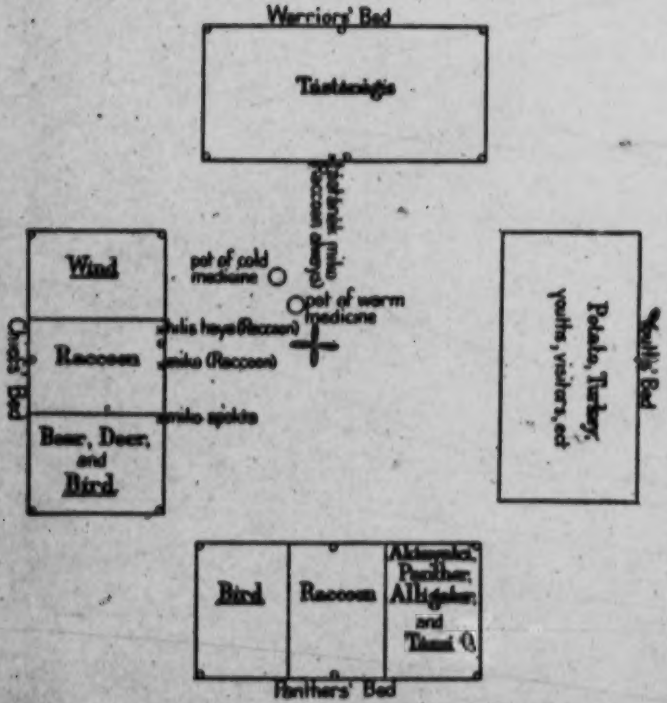

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Laplâko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Kossati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[a] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Tuitt who mentions a ball game May 8, 1838, in which the former defeated the latter (Mooney, Trav. in Am. Col., p 388).

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may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[2] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łapłáko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

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FIG. 37.—The Łapłáko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1913

[2] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Albamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 47.

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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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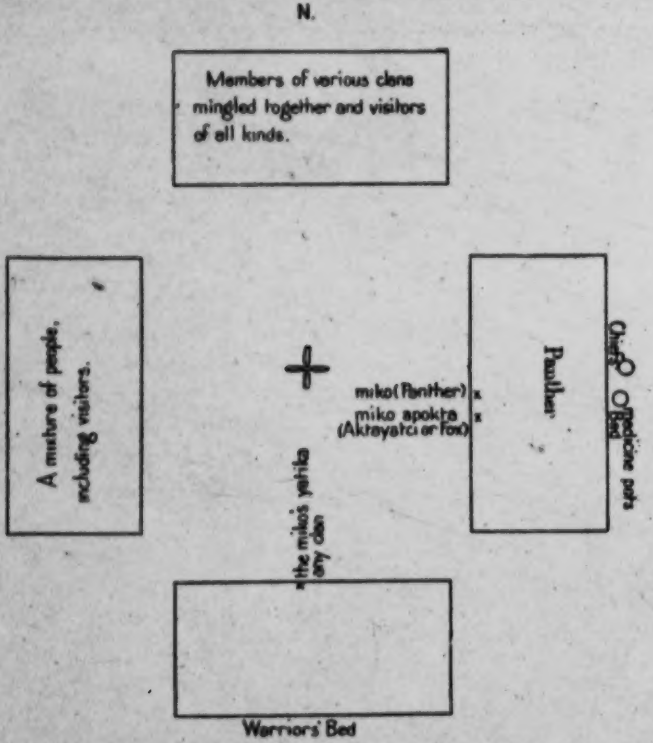

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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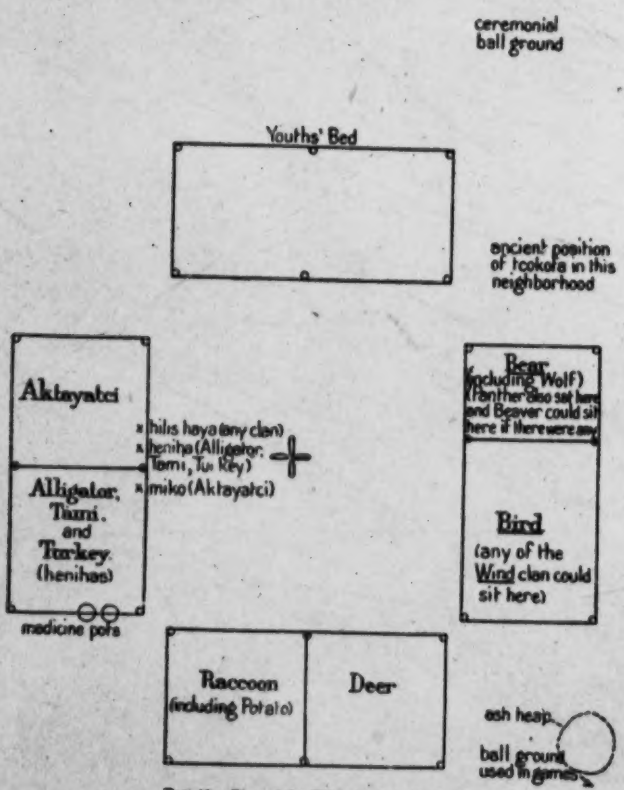
ceremonial ball ground
Youths' Bed
ancient position of Tcokofa in this neighborhood
Aktayatci
hilis haya (any clan)
henihe (Alligator, Tami, Turkey)
miko (Aktayatci)
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey (henihas)
medicine pole
Bear (including Wolf) (Panther also sat here and Beaver could sit here if there were any)
Bird (any of the Wind clan could sit here)
Raccoon (including Potato)
Deer
ash heap
ball ground used in games

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

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9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opilläko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

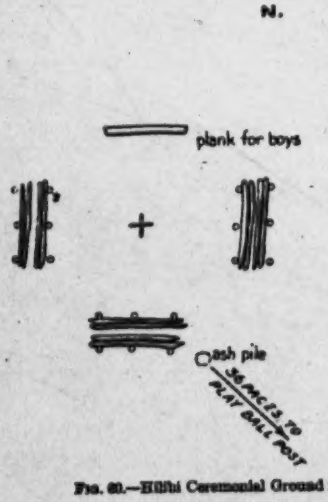

FIG. 60.—Hïlïhi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Evolution of the Creek Confederacy

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

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GOVERNMENT

619 621 642 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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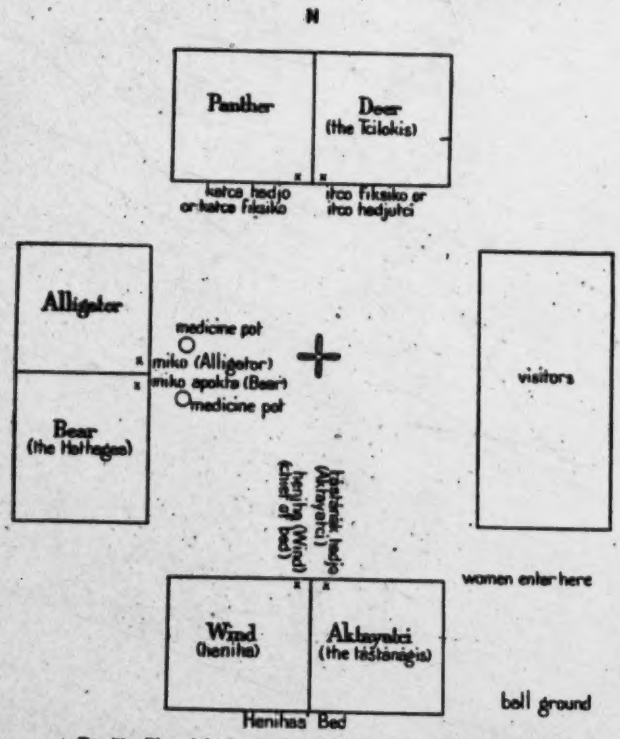

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tukabatchi or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

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towns alone being under mikos.[2] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástanâgi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

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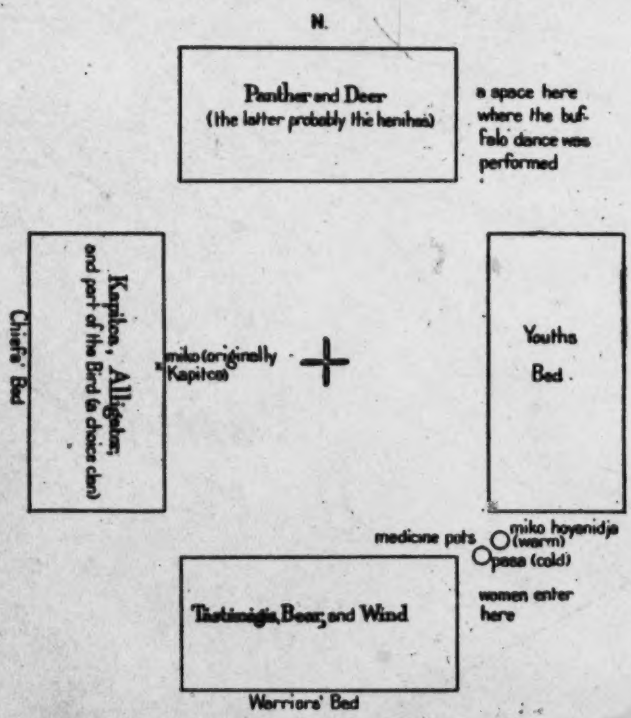

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

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[2] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

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554 302 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti âtcagâgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the â-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the âsi was the prerogative of the henihâlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the âsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

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•619 631 642 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 346.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469–470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 393.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[83] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmă'yăgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łăko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka năgi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

619 631

In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[83] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Ossoochee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 631 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta. Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqhi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another." [54]

619 631 642 648 177 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugurated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1755, Ms.

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town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575. [56] Ibid., p. 726.

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missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 552.

[58] French Ms. of 1735.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Likatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them. 526

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."[19]

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.[20] This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.[20a]

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none. 526 619 ●

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly 526

[19] Pope, Tour, pp. 49-51. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 108-110, copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 89-90, and Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, pp. 486-487.

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 504.

[20a] See pp. 60-61.

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their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobànga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others." [36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atàsà, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atàsà posts 796 642 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atàsà sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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796 are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

796 The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 367.

[41a] See p. 568.

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114 344 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 619 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Ĺiwahali, Lapĺáko, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tálwa Łáko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łáko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters" because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogálga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tami with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the